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## THE SHIP OF STATE ADRIFT.—II.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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THE Ship of State, drifting in May last heedless of impending danger, found the tempest upon her in June. Rising waves soon revealed the hitherto sunken rocks and the breakers ahead, upon which many a noble ship has gone to pieces. "Revolt against Supreme Court," "Toleration of Riot," "Abolition of Right of Contract," "Debased Money," with all their ragged and dangerous peaks, were now for the first time clearly seen. Fortunate, indeed, that the revolutionary forces congregated at Chicago dashed themselves with such violence against the sunken rocks as to reveal their presence, and thus warn the Ship of State while there was yet time to change its course.

The nation for a moment is stunned by the Chicago platform and nominees, paralysis strikes the business world, mines close, factories shut down, millions of spindles stop, railroads retrench, wages fall, labor is dismissed, confusion reigns in finance and commerce, failures increase and confidence is gone. For a time, short, though apparently long, no voice was heard strong enough to rally the conservative forces of the country in defence of law, order, and honesty. To the leader of the Republican party the now thoroughly alarmed nation naturally turned. The man who volunteered and risked his life in defence of his country when yet in his teens, was not likely to prove a laggard in his prime, when the foundations were attacked upon which the government of his country rests. He met the issue squarely, each successive declaration being more and more emphatic. His last words

NOTE.—At the request of Mr. Carnegie, the editor waives, in the case of this article, the restrictions that he is usually obliged to impose as to the length of excerpts taken from contributions to THE REVIEW. Newspapers and periodicals are therefore requested to copy as freely as they choose from Mr. Carnegie's contribution to the present number.—EDITOR NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

show that he sinks the partisan in the patriot : "Government by law must be first assured; everything else can wait." He has risen to the height of the great argument. Not the first of our public men to realize the true nature of the assault upon civilized society, or the disastrous results certain to flow from poisoning the money of his country with depreciated silver, and hence not the first to draw the sword ; but he may be trusted to stand among the last who sheathe it, for he comes not of a race that falters when once aroused. The Covenanter's strain derived from a strong mother is in his blood, and bound to tell in the stormy days which may confront him. There is much of Lincoln's sweet temper in Major McKinley; there will also be found much of Lincoln's steadfastness to principle. The challenge thrown down by the reckless assembly at Chicago is accepted, and as the war for the Union was fought through to the end, so this war must be. The strife is mortal; one or the other must perish, for law and license cannot co-exist.

The great party which sprang to the defence of the Union is again in line of battle, ready to fight for the preservation of all that makes that Union worth fighting for—the reign of law, order, honesty; and, as in the war for the Union, so in this war for the rights, liberties, and safeguards of the Constitution, under the Union, and for honest money, that party finds at its side, fully abreast and equally loyal, the mass of sterling men of the Democratic party who hold party subordinate to country. That these united forces are to succeed against all who may oppose is not to be doubted; for government of the people, for the people, and by the people, under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, is not to perish from the face of the earth.

The United States stands to-day once more before the world seen and known of all men as a nation which depends not upon any one party to maintain unimpaired its conservative Constitution, which establishes law, holds contracts inviolable, and ensures the reign of peaceful government.

The official leaders, as well as the foremost men of both parties, although differing in non-essentials, stand shoulder to shoulder equally staunch in defence of the only vital questions now before the people.

Such a spectacle has not been witnessed since the shot fired at Fort Sumter once before fused the best men of these same par-

ties into one loyal mass. Sad day were it for our country if the precious fruits of the centuries became the sacred charge of any one party, and ceased to be the first care of the loyal men of both !

This union means that the Republic is true to itself, and vindicates democracy, and is the answer to all doubts and sneers as to the capacity of the people for self-government regulated by law. Let doubters behold it and learn that partisanship is only upon the surface, and that patriotism lies deep below in both parties in the land of triumphant democracy.

As a private in the ranks of the Republican party, the admiration and gratitude of the writer go forth not chiefly to his own leaders, but equally to those of the National Democratic party. Ours have had to make no draft upon their courage, or to sacrifice anything—to wrench no ties, nor to stand up against the majority of their own household in defence of their convictions. When the struggle is over and the guarantees of the Constitution stand vindicated and unshaken, the present gold standard is safe, and the government relieved from banking, as this purified party so wisely demands, the profound thanks of the American people will be due for service done the state to the leaders of the National Democratic party, for these have greatly dared.

There was difference of opinion as to the advisability of these men organizing as a party and nominating candidates ; but this has been most successfully done, and is, in the writer's view, one of the most cheering features of the situation, because it ensures the continuance of one of the two great historic parties as a loyal party, subordinate, as all parties should ever be, to the claims of the country as a whole, in emergencies which threaten the existence of its fundamental principles. The platform opens with a splendid preamble :

“ This convention has assembled to uphold the principles on which depend the honor and welfare of the American people, in order that Democrats throughout the Union may unite their patriotic efforts to avert disaster from their country and ruin from their party.”

We venture to call the attention of thoughtful men of both parties to the fact that the platform ignores the international bimetallic delusion, advocacy of which by the few who should have known better has deluded the people into the belief that there is something imperfect in the gold standard, when there is not ;

and further, that the platform demands the release of the government from banking. In these respects the loyal Democracy point out the only true solution of the financial problem.

The old historic Democratic party is an invaluable possession to the nation, when in the day of trouble it thus dedicates itself anew, to uphold not party shibboleths but those principles upon which rest the welfare and honor of our common country; for next in value to a body of able leaders in power follows that of an able body of leaders in opposition, each having the confidence of the masses of intelligent voters comprising the party it represents. It is essential for our system of party government that the contending hosts should be disciplined, not guerilla, forces—and led by able men of character, education, and experience in public affairs.

The country was fortunate in this respect until the Civil War, which destroyed the power of the hitherto trusted leaders of the Democratic party, especially of the South, and left that party no longer rich as it had been in leaders of national reputation based upon eminent public service. The crisis which has just arisen in its history may be trusted to replace these, for its future leaders are sure to be developed by the upheaval which has occurred, and must be found among the prominent men of to-day who have remained true to the traditions of the party and resisted the attempt to sink Democracy into Populism. Under the play of party government it is certain that the opposition party is to obtain power at intervals, and the country is to be congratulated already upon the assurance which the Indianapolis Convention gives, in the character and action of its members, that the government can safely be trusted to their hands when the people demand a change.

It will, we think, be felt that, since the co-operation of many of the members of the National Democratic party is essential for the speedy and final vindication of constitutional safeguards, and the maintenance of the national honor in finance, Republicans should labor to remove, to the greatest extent possible, everything of a nature calculated to offend the susceptibilities of their allies. The question which causes the most friction between the two loyal organizations, and which may deter many from voting for McKinley, is that of protection. The writer submits that it is unnecessary to raise this question under

present conditions. The government's revenues are insufficient under existing laws. Both parties agree that these should promptly be made amply sufficient by additional taxation. The question should be treated therefore solely as one of revenue.

A committee composed of the leaders of both parties would agree, we believe, that imports should contribute a proportion of the increased revenue required, especially since it will be found by the testimony of Democratic as of Republican Collectors, Revenue Inspectors, and Custom House officials, that the amount of revenue levied by the present Wilson-Gorman tariff is not received. The change from the specific to the *ad valorem* system results in the government losing a percentage of from 25 to 30 per cent. of the duties due under the law through undervaluations, which are driving honest importers out of the business. A proposition to make good this loss through a specific duty added to present duties should obtain the support of National Democrats as a matter of revenue; and the additional percentage necessary for this should be satisfactory to reasonable Republicans.

The difference which keeps the two wings of the loyal host apart is, under present conditions, more a word than a thing. "Taxes upon imports levied for revenue," and "taxes upon imports levied for protection," produce the same result, and both must involve incidental protection, which one party may think needed and the other not needed. But upon this point they may safely be left to agree to differ, resolving to settle it when the question of high or low tariff becomes a question of policy, apart from one of pressing necessity to provide revenues sufficient to meet the expenditures of the government.

Our Republican brethren might consider why they should care to have an advance upon duties upon imports charged to protection when these can be obtained through the needs of revenue. To demand protection, offends true and loyal allies; to base increased duties upon revenue needs, is not only admissible at present, but proper, under the strictest traditions of the National Democratic party, which has declared for a revenue tariff. It would seem politic for leaders of the Republican party to confer, and remove, if possible, this chief impediment to many Democrats voting for McKinley.

The writer feels as if an apology were due for introducing the subject of protection at all; for compared with the vital issues of

the contest now upon us, it is trifling in the extreme, a mere question of policy involving no principle when viewed from the revenue standpoint, as it should be. No matter how treated it cannot endanger the nation, or the existence of liberty regulated by law, or of sound finance, and, therefore, should not keep loyal men apart. The subject is mentioned only in the hope that now, since the continuity of their pure Democratic party is assured, reflection will bring some, at least, of the loyal Democrats in doubtful States to realize the grave responsibility which rests upon them to vote direct for McKinley, to the end that the victory over the forces which menace what is precious in the Republic may be overwhelmingly decisive and enable the forces of law, order, and sound finance speedily to free the country from all cause of anxiety, and allow it to return once more to the paths of development and peaceful prosperity. When that is done, the country may dispute to its heart's content upon the details of bills for levying duties upon imports and similar subjects; the importance then attached to such questions being cheering proof that the country has solved those deeper problems which touch the national life.

The staunchest Democrat cannot feel that he has wandered far from the path of genuine Democratic traditions if he follows where Hewitt and Phelps and other trusted leaders lead.

For years it has seemed that our rock ahead was the silver question, which is, no doubt, chargeable with the business depression which has reigned, and which to-day makes such a contrast between Great Britain and the United States. Britain has upheld the gold standard and swept the advocates of international bimetallism out of court, and has consequently attracted the capital of the world, including 250 millions of dollars of United States gold within the past few years. Her records show gains over preceding years in almost every department of business; advances of wages are granted in almost every case when demanded; money is superabundant and freely lent at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum; the government's revenues were never so high. This contrast comes solely from one cause: threats of changing the standard of value in the United States have alarmed capital and driven it from us.

This material reverse seemed our most important question when the first article on "The Ship of State" was written for

this REVIEW in May last. To-day it occupies not even the second, but has fallen to the third, place. The material prosperity of the nation is one thing, the preservation of the constitutional provisions which insure the reign of law and order, and the right of contract, quite another. The rocks ahead with which the citizen has now to concern himself are the assault upon the Supreme Court. The great arbiter, whose decisions must be accepted by all, if there is to be peace, is not only assailed, but its independence, upon which just decisions depend, is to be swept away; its members are to be subjected to popular election, and dependent upon the number of votes for their places from time to time. This is a question compared with which even the standard of value cannot be classed.

The power of the Executive to use the armed forces of the Republic to quell disorder, wherever it rears its monstrous head, is to be abolished, and the mails and inter-State commerce of the United States are to be subject to the fury of any local mob, should the Governor of a State fail to do his sworn duty. This is the second vital question before us, and only third in rank and importance, vital as it is for our material prosperity, comes the maintenance of the standard of value—gold—which only follows these at a great distance; for what would it profit a nation to have material prosperity if law and order were not maintained, and the rights of citizens determined by a final court of appeal free from dependence upon popular caprice? The question is an impossible one, since material prosperity has never existed, and never can exist, except upon the secure foundations of law and order, the righteous judicial judgment of disputes between men, and adherence to the established standard of value.

The State may be great and its people may be happy without overflowing material prosperity: human life in Switzerland and in Scotland is desirable and happy without the abundance of material things with which our country is blessed. But the roots of civilization never yet found sustenance until they drew upon law and order.

Fortunately, the National Democratic and the Republican parties are at one in defence of the only three vital principles at issue in this portentous contest—the maintenance, in all their rights and powers, of the Supreme Court, the National Executive, the Gold Standard.



For several years the Ship of State has drifted ; she drifts no longer. The danger ahead is seen ; all hands are aroused ; new men are about to take command ; a change of course has been decided upon. Among the breakers she still struggles, but she has been among breakers before ; there was no thought of giving up the ship then ; there is none now. At midnight, November 3d, there shall be heard ringing out upon the darkness the sweetest words that can come to the tempest-tossed—"All's well !" Not one who has cast his [vote for law, order, and honesty will consider whether he be Republican or Democrat ; but every one will feel he is an American, with this prayer deep in his heart :

"Sail on, O Ship of State !  
Sail on, O Union, strong and great !  
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,  
In spite of false lights on the shore,  
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea !  
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,  
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,  
Are all with thee—are all with thee !"

ANDREW CARNEGIE.